

Message Text

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AMEMBASSY TAIPEI
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 HONG KONG 11664

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

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SUBJECT WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA NO. 40

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SUMMARY: CHINA MARKED NATIONAL DAY WITH SOMBER "FORUMY" APPARENTLY DESIGNED TO BEGIN TO MOVE THENATIONA FROM THE MOURNING PERIOD INTO A PERIOD OF MEMORIALIZING MAO IN ACTION, THE OCTOBER 1 PEOPLE'S DAILY EDITORIAL CONTINUED RECENT NATIONAL THEMES BUT WAS LESS EMPHATIC ABOUT PARTY LEADERSHIP, UNITY, AND PRODUCTION WHILE FOCUSING CHEIF ATTENTION ON THE PERSONAL CONTRIBUTIONS OF CHAIRMAN MAO. THIS FOCUS APPEARS TO CONTRADICT THE PERSPECTIVE ON MAO IN THE SEPTEMBER 16 JOINT EDITORIAL, AND THE MEDIA HAS ALREADY BEGUN TO RESPOND TO THSE NUANCES. SHARPENED MEDIA LANGUAGE ON SPECIFIC PROBLEM AREAS COULD INDICATE HEIGHTENED CONCERNS ABOUT THE IMPORT OF CAMPAIGNING IN COMING MONTHS, WHILE GENERALLY UNINSPIRING COMMENTARY MARKED WELL-PUBLICIZED COMMEMORATION OF A MAO STATEMENT ON MILITIA BUILDING. ON THE EZTERNAL SIDE, THE RECENT UNGA ADDRESS BY PRC FOREIGN MINISTER CHIAO KUAN-HUA PROVIDES THE FIRST AUTHORATIVE TREATMENT OF CHINA'S FOREIGN POLICIES AND POSITIONS SINCE THE DEATH OF MAO. MEANWHILE, PRC MEDIATOOK ONLY BRIEF NOTE OF THE

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SECRETARY'S ADDRESS AND ANTI-SOVIET REMARKS IN THE COURSE OF A GENERAL ROUNDUP ON THE U.N. NCNA HAS UNDERSCORED CHINA'S DUAL POLICIES CONCERNING STATE-TO-STATE AND PARTY-TO-PARTY RELATIONS BY PUBLISHING NATIONAL DAY MESSAGES FROM THE SOVIETS AND EATERN EUROPEAN COUNTIRES. FINALLY, FOR THE RECORD, CHINA HAS REITERATED ITS CALLS FOR TAIWAN'S EXPULSION FROM THE IMF.

NATIONAL DAY: MIXING MOURNING AND BUSINESS

1. WITH PEKING'S TRADITIONAL NATIONAL DAY-EVE RECEPTION CANCELED AND CELEBRATIONS IN THE PARKS FIRST ON AND THEN OFF, OCTOBER 1 PASSED IN PEKING UNDER THE SOMBER INFLUENCE OF CHAIRMAN MAO'S FUNERAL (PEKING 1984, 1981, AND 1966). PEKING'S TOP NATIONAL LEADERSHIP TURNOUT AT A MUNICIPAL SPONSORED "FORUM" WHICH WAS DEVOTED TO PLEDGES FROM VARIOUS SECTORS TO FOLLOW MAO'S REVOLUTIONARY LINE AND "ACT ACCORDING TO THE PRINCIPLES LAID DOWN". MINUS THEIR BLACK ARMBANDS, THE LEADERS AND THE MASSES APPEARED TO BE USING THE OCCASION TO LOOK FORWARD TO NEW EFFORTS. SIMILAR FORUMS AROUND THE COUNTRY BROUGHT LARGE PROVINCIAL TURNOUTS (HONG KONG 11479). LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

2. MEDIA MENTION OF "FORUM" DISCUSSIONS ALSO REVEALED THAT PEKING WAS ATTEMPTING TO CONDUCT SOME ROUTINE INDUSTRIAL EXCHANGES AS METALLURGICAL WORKERS WERE ASSEMBLED IN PEKING FOR A CONFERENCE AND PETROLEUM MINISTRY OFFICIALS WERE PRESENT AT TACHING FOR MEETINGS. PEKING'S STREET SCENES ALSO APPEARED TO RETURN TO NORMAL EARLY ON, AND THOUGH BLACK ARMBANDS SEEM TO BE WIDESPREAD UNTIL ABOUT OCTOBER 4 (PEKING 1977). THE GENERAL ATMOSPHERE IN TIAN AN MEN SQUARE REMAINED CENTERED AROUND THE PHOTOGRAPHERS' STALLS, WHERE SOUVENIR PHOTOS IN FRONT OF THE BLACK-DRAPE MAO PORTRAIT WERE MUCH IN DEMAND. LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

3. THE NATIONAL DAY PEOPLE'S DAILY EDITORIAL PLACED VIRTUALLY ALL OF ITS EMPHASIS ON STUDYING MAO TSE-TUNG THOUGHT. CONTRASTING WITH THE APPROACH FOUND IN MOST EDITORIALS OF RECENT MONTHS, RELATIVELY LITTLE STRESS WAS PLACED ON "RALLYING CLOSELY AROUND THE PARTY CENTER" OR ON PRODUCTION AND UNITY THEMES. RATHER THE EDITORIAL'S CALL TO BEGIN A

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NEW "UPSURGE" IN THE STUDY OF MAO THOUGHT IS EXTOLLED AS "THE BEST CONCRETE DEED IN CARRYING OUT THE BEHESTS OF CHAIRMAN MAO" (HONG KONG 11479). THIS EDITORIAL AND ITS CONCENTRATION ON MAO'S LARGE PERSONAL ROLE CONTRASTS WITH THE SEPTEMBER 16 JOINT EDITORIAL PERSPECTIVE OF MAO AS PRIMARILY A CONTRIBUTOR TO MARXISM-LENINISM. INDICATING THE SENSITIVITY OF THE SUBJECT, NO MENTION WAS MADE IN THE NATIONAL DAY PIECE ABOUT STUDYING THE JOINT EDITORIAL WHICH RECEIVED AND CONTINUES TO RECEIVE CONSIDERABLE MEDIA PLAY, PARTICULARLY IN THE PROVINCES (HONG KONG 11577). THE JOINT EDITORIAL IS ONE OF THE THREE "IMPORTANT DOCUMENTS" WHICH ALSO INCLUDE THE OBITUARY MESSAGE AND THE HUA FUNERAL SPEECH. CONFIDENTIAL

4. PROVINCIAL REACTION TO THIS APPARENT SPLIT HAS BEEN

MIXED. HISTORICALLY "RADICAL" PROVINCES SUCH AS ANHWEI AND SHANGHAI HAVE ALL AVOIDED MENTION OF THE SEPTMBER 16 PIECE, WHILE EMPHAISIZING THE NATIONAL DAY RELEASE. THIS MIGHT REFLECT DISSATISFACTION ON THE PART OF ACTIVITIST ELEMENTS OVER THE LACK OF ATTENTION GIVEN TO "CARRYING THOUGH TO THE END" THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE "BOURGEOISIE IN THE PARTY " (HONG KONG 11578). LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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AMEMBASSY RANGOON

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AMEMBASSY SEOUL

AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

USMISSION USUN NY

AMEMBASSY VIENTIANE

FBIS OKINAWA

CINCPAC HONOLULU HI
COMIPAC
CHMAAGCHINA
COMUSTDC
CDR USACC TAIWAN
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
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MEDIA ARTICLES POINT TO CONTINUING FACTIONAL DIFFERENCES

5. WHILE RECENT APPEARANCES HAVE GIVEN THE IMPRESSION OF LEADERSHIP UNITY (WR 38) AND MANY MEDIA ARTICLES CONTINUE TO EMPHASIZE PARTY CONTROL AND PRODUCTION THEMESE, SEVERAL POLEMICAL ARTICLES AND APPARENT PROBLEMS WITH THE SEPTEMBER 16 JOINT EDITORIAL (HONG KONG 11578) SUGGEST CONTINUING DIFFERENCES OVER PERSONALITIES AND ISSUES AT THE PROVINCIAL AS WELL AS THE NATIONAL LEVEL. THE RECENT ARTICLES, INCLUDING A CHENG YUEH OCTOBER RED FLAG PIECE, A SEPTEMBER 29 PEOPLE'S DAILY ARTICLE (PEKING 1964) AND SEVERAL PROVINCIAL BROADCASTS ARE NOTEWORTHY FOR THEIR SHARPNESS AND SPECIFICITY IN TARGETING PROBLEM AREAS. IN ADDITION, KWANGMING'S OCTOBER 4 LIANG HSIAO ARTICLE SETS DOWN FIRM "LEFTIST" PRECEPTS FOR CARRYING OUT MAO'S REVOLUTIONARY LINE (PEKING 2004). IF FURTHER MEDIA SNIPING AGAINST UNNAMED INDIVIDUALS AND OTHER REPORTS OF FACTIONAL PROBLEMS CONTINUE, THEN THE CHINESE LEADERSHIP WILL PROBABLY HAVE INCREASING DIFFICULTY IN BRINGING CONTENTIOUS ELEMENTS TOGETHER IN FORGING A POST-MAO CONSENSUS (HONG KONG 11612). CONFIDENTIAL

MILITIA ANNIVERSARY MARKED

6. MOST OF CHINA'S PROVINCES HAVE COME IN WITH BROADCASTS DURING THE PAST WEEK COMMEMORATING THE 18TH ANNIVERSARY OF CHAIRMAN MAO'S SEPTEMBER 29 EXHORTATION: "WE MUST ALSO ORGANIZE CONTINGENTS OF THE PEOPLE'S MILITIA ON A BIG SCALE." ONLY CANTON AND SIAN MUNICIPALITIES MARKED THE OCCASION WITH RALLIES ATTENDED BY LOWER LEVEL FUNCTIONARIES. MOST PROVINCIAL BROADCASTS WERE SUBDUED, STRESSING STUDY OF LEADERSHIP PRONOUNCEMENTS CONNECTED WITH MAO'S DEATH. IN PARTICULAR, CRITICISM OF TENG HSIAO-PING'S ATTEMPTS TO ABOLISH THE MILITIA, THE MILITIA'S ROLE IN GUARDING AGAINST REVISIONISM AT HOME AND ABROAD AND FIGHTING "SABOTAGE

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ACTIVITIES" WERE PROMINENT THEMESE. LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

7. HOWEVER, SOME CONFUSION APPARETNLY STILL EXISTS OVER WHO ACTUALLY CONTROLS THE URGAN MILITIA -- A POTENTIAL POLITICAL TOOL OF ACTIVIST ELEMENTS -- AS SOME BROADCASTS STRESSED PARTY COMMITTEE DIRECTION OVER MILITIA ACTIVITIES AND CLOSE LIAISON WITH LOCAL PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY AND PUBLIC SECURITY UNITS WHILE OTHER PROVINCES IGNORED THE QUESTION. IN SOME AREAS, LOCAL GARRISON COMMANDS MIGHT STILL EXERT GREATER INFLUENCE OVER THE MILITIA WITH ONLY NOMINAL PARTY INVOLVEMENT. CONFIDENTIAL

PRC FONMIN'S UNGA ADDRESS

8. PRC FOREIGN MINISTER CHIAO KUAN-HUA'S OCTOBER 5 ADDRESS TO THE 31ST UNGA IS THE FIRST HIGH-LEVEL OFFICIAL DISCUSSION OF CHINA'S FOREIGN POLICY POSITIONS SINCE THE DEATH OF CHAIRMAN MAO. IN LINE WITH PEKING'S EFFORTS TO PEOJECT CONHVNUITY IN ITS EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CHIAO'S ADDRESS REITERATES THE MAIN LINES OF PEKING'S CURRENT PRAGMATIC POLICIES. THIS YEAR AS IN 1975, THE SUPERPOWERS COME UNDER HARSH ATTACK, AND THE SOVIETS ARE SCORED AS THE "MOST DANGEROUS SOURCE OF WAR TODAY." IN CONTRAST WITH LAST YEAR'S SPEECH, THERE ARE FEWER DIRECT BLASTS AT THE U.S. THE U.S. THREAT TO VETO VIETNAM'S APPLICATION TO THE U.N. IS TERMED "UTTERLY UNJUSTIFIABLE", AND THE U.S. IS CRITICIZED IN STANDARD TERMS AS THE MAIN OBSTACLE TO PEACEFUL REUNIFICATION IN KOREA. LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

9. WITH REGARD TO AFRICA, CHIAO BLAMES THE "COMPLICATED SITUATION" THERE ON SUPERPOWER MEDDLING. HE AVOIDS COMMENT ON RECENT U.S. INITIATIVES, BUT REPEATS THE CURRENT PRC CRITICISM OF THE SOVIETS FOR CARRYING

OUT ARMED INTERVENTION IN ANGOLA. ON THE MIDDLE EAST, THERE IS GENERAL SUPPORT FOR THE PALESTINIANS -- WITHOUT MENTION OF ISRAEL -- AND AN EXPRESSED HOPE THAT THE LEBANESE AND OTHER "CONCERNED" ARAB PARTIES WILL PEACEFULLY RESOLVE THEIR DIFFERENCES. CHIAO ALSO EXPRESSES SUPPORT FOR BANGLADESH'S "REASONABLE" POSITION
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ON THE QUESTION OF SHARING THE WATER OF THE GANGES RIVER,

ASEAN'S POSITION ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A ZONE OF PEACE IN THEIR AREA, THE "JUST" STRUGGLE OF THE PEOPLE OF EAST TIMOR (ALTHOUGH INDONESIA IS NOT MENTIONED), AND A STRONG AND UNITED WESTERN EUROPE. LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

10. FAMILIAR PRC WARNINGS OF THE GROWING DANGER OF WAR STEMMING PRIMARILY FROM SOVIET AGGRESSIVE DESIRES ARE REPEATED, BUT CHIAO ASSERTS THAT THE FACTORS FOR BOTH WAR AND REVOLUTION ARE INCREASING AND IN GENERAL SEEMS TO PLACE THE PRC ON THE SIDE OF THOSE FORCES FAVORING PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF CONFLICTS. OVERALL, THE FOREIGN MINISTER'S COMPARATEVELY CURSORY AND LESS DETAILED TREATMENT OF FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES THIS YEAR PROBABLY REFLECTS INTERNAL EXIGENCIES WHICH LIMIT THE FOCUS ON EXTERNAL POLICIES AT THIS TIME (NCNA OCTOBER 5). LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

THE UNITED STATES AND DETENTE

11. THE ONLY DOMESTIC PRC REPORT ON THE SECRETARY'S U.N. SPEECH NOTED THAT HE WAS "DISTRUBED" OVER CONTINUING SOVIET ARMS ACCUMULATION AND INTERVENTION IN LOCAL CONFLICTS AND IMPLICITLY CRITICIZED HIS EMPHASIS ON "COEXISTENCE" WITH THE SOVIET UNION. A COMMENTARY IN HONG KONG'S PRC-CONTROLLED HSIN WAN PAO TOOK ISSUE WITH THE SECRETARY'S U.N. REMARKS REGARDING "RESTRAINT" IN SINO-U.S. RELATIONS. THE NEWSPAPER CLAIMED THAT WHETHER CHINA SHOULD RESTRAIN ITSELF OR NOT TOWARD TAIWAN WAS SOLELY A CHINESE AFFAIR, ADDING THAT CERTAIN AMERICANS SHOULD "RESTRAIN" THEMSELVES AND FOCUS ON IMPLEMENTING THE SPIRIT OF THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE (NCNA OCTOBER 1, HSIN WAN PAO OCTOBER 2). LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

QWM HIGHLIGHTING THE NEED FOR THE U.S. TO BE VIGILANT AGAINST THE SOVIETS, NCNA RAN A COMMENTARY POINTING OUT THAT SOVIET MILITARY PRESSURE IN EUROPE CAN ONLY RESULT IN A CONFLAGRATION THAT WILL ENGULF THE UNITED STATES. NCNA CLAIMED THE "NEW TZARS HAVE DECLARED UNAMBIGUOUSLY THAT IN A FUTURE WAR, THE U.S.WILL BECOME THE CHIEF TARGET OF ATTACK ON THE MAIN BATTLEFIELD IN EUROPE." WE SEE THIS NCNA PIECE AS A REJOINDER TO RECENT COMMENTS BY FORMER CONFIDENTIAL

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DEFENSE SECRETARY SCHLESINGER THAT THE PRC SHOULD STRENGTHEN ITS OWN DEFENSES AGAINST THESOVIETS (NCNA SEPTEMBER 29). LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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13. WARNING AGAINST SOVIET DETENTE WERE ALSO INCLUDED IN A WEN WEI PAO COMMENTARY ON FORD AND CARTER ON THE EVE OF THEIR SECOND DEBATE. THE LOCAL COMMUNIST DAILY CLAIMED THAT WHILE BOTH CANDIDATES ARGUE FOR VIGILANCE AGAINST THE SOVIETS, BOTH HAVE ESPOUSED A DESIRE FOR GOOD RELATIONS WITH THE RUSSIANS. THUS, ACCORDING TO THE COMMENTARY, THERE IS LITTLE DIFFERENCE IN THEIR ATTITUDE. NEVERTHELESS, THE PAPER PREDICTED THAT INCREASING SOVIET PRESSURE AGAINST THE U.S. WILL FORCE THE NEXT PRESIDENT TO TAKE A HARDER LINE VIS-A-VIS THE SOVIETS (WEN WEI PAO OCTOBER 6).
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NATIONAL DAY GREETINGS

14. PRC MEDIA HAS PUBLISHED THE COMPLETE TEXT OF THE SOVIET STATE MESSAGE MARKING THE 27TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE PRC. AS IN RECENT YEARS, THE JOINT MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDIUM OF THE SUPREME SOVIET AND THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE USSR WAS ADDRESSED TO THE STANDING COMMITTEE OF THE NPC AND STATE COUNCIL AND CONTAINED A CALL FOR NORMALIZATION OF RELATION BETWEEN THE USSR AND THE PRC. HOWEVER, PUBLICATIONS OF THIS YEAR'S MESSAGE MARKED THE FIRST TIME SINCE THE DEATH OF MAO THAT CHINA PUBLICLY HAS TAKEN NOTE OF MOSCOW'S REPEATED CALLS FOR NORMALIZATION OF SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS. NCNA'S REPLAY OF THE STATE GREETINGS RECEIVED FROM POLAND, HUNGARY, MONGOLIA, CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND BULGARIA--COUNTRIES WHOSE PARTY CONDOLENCE MESSAGES ON THE DEATH OF MAO WERE REJECTED--SERVED TO UNDERSCORE PEKING'S CAREFULLY DIFFERENTIATED POSITIONS ON STATE-TO-STATE AND PARTY-TO-PARTY RELATIONS. AMONG THE NATIONAL DAY GREETINGS CARRIED BY NCNA WAS ONE FROM A PORTUGUESE PRIME MINISTER MARIO SOARES AS WELL AS ONE FROM CUBAN PREMIER FIDEL CASTRO, WHO WAS NOT LISTED AMONG THOSE WHO SENT CONDOLENCE MESSAGE FOLLOWING MAO'S DEMISE (NCNA OCTOBER 1-5). UNCLASSIFIED
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INTERNAL ORGANIZATIONS

15. IN WHAT APPEARS TO BE A STATEMENT FOR THE RECORD, CHINA REITERATED ITS DEMAND THAT THE "CHIANG CLIQUE" BE EXPELLED FROM THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND (IMF). THE

MESSAGE, SENT BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE PEOPLE'S BANK OF CHINA" ON INSTRUCTIONS" FROM THE GOVERNMENT, MAKES NO MENTION OF ANY PRC DESIRE TO JOIN THE IMF AT THIS TIME. THE LAST PRC MESSAGE TO THE IMF WAS SENT IN SEPTEMBER 1973 BY THE CHINESE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS. TURNING TO ANOTHER INTERNATIONAL BODY, NCNA REPORTED THAT THE INTERNATIONAL TELECOMMUNICATIONS SATELLITE ORGANIZATION (INTELSAT) HAD VOTED TO EXPEL THE "CHIANG CLIQUE" AND WELCOME THE PRC (NCNA SEPTEMBER 39). UNCLASSIFIED

WEST GERMANY

16. NCNA'S REPORT ON THE RECENT WEST GERMAN ELECTIONS BEGAN BY NOTING THE GAINS FOR THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC UNION AND THE CHRISTIAN SOCIAL UNION AT THE EXPENSE OF RULING PARTIES. A COMMENTARY IN THE LOCAL COMMUNIST TA KUNG PAO ATTRIBUTES THE RESULT TO GERMAN VOTER DISSATISFACTION WITH THE SDP'S "EASTERN POLICY" WHICH, IT CLAIMS, THE WEST GERMAN PEOPLE INCREASINGLY SEE AS TOADYING TO THE SOVIET UNION (NCNA OCTOBER 4, TA KUNG PAO OCTOBER 5). UNCLASSIFIED

CHINA NAMES NEW AMBASSADOR TO ALBANIA AND NORTH KOREA

17. IN BRIEF REPORTS ON THE NEW AMBASSADORS' PRESENTATION OF CREDENTIALS, NCNA HAS REVEALED THE APPOINTMENTS OF LIU HSIN-CHUAN AS CHINA'S NEW AMBASSADOR TO ALBANIA AND LU CHIH-HSIN AS THE NEW PRC AMBASSADOR TO THE DPRK. BOTH MEN ARE VETERAN MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OFFICIALS. FROM 1970 UNTIL MARCH OF THIS YEAR, LIU SERVED AS PEKING'S AMBASSADOR IN MOSCOW. LU HAS SERVED AS AMBASSADOR TO MAURITANIA, HUNGARY, AND THE CONGON (NCNA SEPTEMBER 29). LIMITED OFFICIAL USE.

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